1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

in the household and then the names of all kinds of little objects until his speech is perfected.'

Weaning (*Oku sumūhã* or *oku nyamūhã*). Every day the child goes to the fields with his mother. As he grows and gets fatter and heavier he becomes quite a burden for her or for his young nurse. Until he has passed twelve months, however, there is no alternative, and more often his daily excursions continue well past his second birthday. When he is able to walk a little, then his mother may begin to leave him in the village with his young nurse while she goes to her field-work. 'So in the morning at daybreak his mother will give him his food on a little dish and the toddler (*ocisembe*) will eat until he is full. Then his mother will speak to him saying, Suckle (*Nyama*) for I am going to the veld; so he will suckle and his mother will go.' He will not suckle again until she returns at from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. Thus he begins to be weaned quite unconsciously, but that does not mean that the process will be finished quickly; it may continue for even more than two years yet, unless a younger brother or sister intervenes.

'Some children, however, do not stop suckling quickly and if that is the case, his mother will frighten him when he wants to suckle, for she will say, Look out, here is a bugaboo; for perhaps she will have put an ugly worm on her breast, or perhaps she will have rubbed on pepper and the child nursing will burn his mouth and begin to cry. But some children are shrewd so that when they taste the bitterness they will fetch water and wash the breast and it is very hard to wean them. The parent will try many different things until the child is weaned. Some children are only weaned after they are four years old or even older, but that is not common.'

As the preceding paragraph suggests, children of this age may be tyrants to their mothers and all the more since the Ovimbundu punish their children with reluctance. But field-work presses inexorably and much more can be accomplished without a child to hinder one. His mother may promise that if he doesn't cry she will bring him a rat or a bird. Then if he still does not *consent* to stay she may, with reluctance, apply the sterner measures of a slap or a proverb said in exasperation:[1]

Ove oku ku pikila ku kuta.
You, making for you mush, you do not fill.

[1] The serious regard for the spoken word must be kept in mind.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Oku longa ku yevi, vumõlã hẽ?
Teaching you do not hear, are you child?

One who fails properly to absorb both mush and teaching can hardly be a proper human being. The implication of the question is that if he is not a child he may be some unearthly creature. There may be a similar implication in this other proverb which may also be used on similar occasions:

Ku ka ñavise ame konjembo si endi love.
Do not tire me I to hades shall not go with you.

U lonjila yaye, u lonjila yaye.
Each with path his (own), each with path his (own).

With the aid of elder sister mother usually wins out. Picking up her hoe and basket she gives the children their injunctions for the day. 'Stay then and I'll come right back, but don't play with the neighbour's chickens, don't beat each other, don't play with bows lest you put out the eye of another, and don't steal from the cooking pot, there now!'

With children of all ages left alone in the village, these injunctions are a minimum of necessity. The mother might also go on to detail the consequences of disobedience, how one who put out another's eye would be sold into slavery, nor was the mother exaggerating. If the Ovimbundu punish their children with reluctance, they have no reticence in instilling in them what they consider to be a healthy fear, whether of persons, animals, things, their own actions, or quite imaginary dangers. Older children likewise work on the younger. Nor are occasions for further instilling fear lacking. 'Always when they stay in the village, they go to the dancing-floor (*ocīlã*) to play with the other children. During that time should something come to frighten them and make them run away, those who haven't younger siblings to carry are glad to get away quickly. But those who have younger siblings to carry see much hardship. They tire themselves terribly trying to carry their heavy young siblings and being unable to continue, they drag them, both of them crying and crying.' Nowadays, in case of need or simply tiring of their play, children may start off for the fields in search of mother, but formerly children were not allowed to venture unaccompanied outside the safety of the village palisades. The danger of kidnappers and of raiding parties was very real. One of the most vivid memories of the Rev. Paulino Ngonga's early child-

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

hood was a day when he and an elder brother set off for the fields and almost ran into a party of raiders. The scolding which they received was not forgotten.

The practice of leaving the *ocisembe* in the village by day makes his elder sibling responsible for much of his education. This is the beginning of a close bond which lasts through life. She herself may not be more than six or seven years old and consequently cannot be expected to 'educate' her little charge very thoroughly. She interests herself in his walking and talking and he will imitate her in many things, but the rest of 'conscious education' must be attended to by the parents.

Cleanliness. Instruction in cleanliness begins at this age, but I fear that it is lacking either in intensity or in persistence for its effect seems to be rather long-delayed. Small babies are not washed very often but their bodies and heads are anointed with palm-oil against infestation with the various parasites of the tropics. Anointing the body continues to be a part of the toilet of the Ocimbundu through life. When palm-oil is scarce, such afflictions as common itch are more prevalent. Nowadays, in the well-appointed household, the *ocisembe* has his hands and face washed before breakfast. If such a connexion between washing and eating were always and everywhere maintained, habits of personal cleanliness might be more widespread. Brushing the teeth may be begun in imitation of mother. Sphincter training is begun very early, for the mother feels every muscular movement made or attempted by the baby on her back. Hence she is apt to know when it is necessary to take him down for defecation. If and when this procedure is followed through with regularity and persistence early sphincter control may be established, but too often this is not the case. Establishment of bladder control is apt to come even more uncertainly as a favourite proverb concerning the weather indicates:

Ihu lia soka ndetako lioñaña.
The sky is like the bottom of a baby.

The Ovimbundu do not associate these bodily functions with shame to the extent which is the case in our culture, but euphemisms are used in place of the exact terminology.[1] If an

[1] There are prohibitions regarding these functions during visits to relatives-in-law with whom one has respect-relations, also to the bride during the wedding ceremonies. (See Folk-tales nos. 12 and 13 of the short collection in the *Journal*

[p.98]

CHAPTER VI
CHILDHOOD

The Child (*oneñe* or *omõlã*[1])

857 (*From the achievement of physical independence until about nine years*)

866 'If a toddling child (*omõlã ocisembe*) has finished learning to walk and expects a younger sibling, he is not carried any more and even though his mother should go to (visit) another village, he will stay behind perfectly well without crying. Now he has changed a great deal: that which he formerly did, he now no longer does.' This statement is perhaps a little optimistic, but it may be taken as sufficiently realistic and representative for practical purposes.

The child continues to see the same adults and to play with the same children as before, i.e. those of his own home village, but with two differences which the narratives will bring out. *First*, he is not now dependent to such an extent upon the elder sibling or cousin, and this independence brings the beginning of his life-long association with his age-mates. *Second*, the sex division of society begins for him at this time. From about eight years of age boys and girls will play in sex groups, and boys will begin to eat in the *onjango* with their fathers, girls continuing in the kitchen with mother and the younger siblings. The child does not go beyond the sheltering friendliness of the village except in the company of adults until toward the middle of this period of childhood. With mother or father he may often go to the fields or on excursions to neighbouring villages or to the chief's village.

861 The conscious education of the child is very much intensified from the time he achieves independence, but parents rarely realize the importance of the years from about four until about eight when little boys begin eating in the *onjango*. Theoretically the balance between the male and female sides of the house, characteristic of Umbundu social structure, is maintained in the training and education of the children. Actually what generally happens is that, until about eight, the mother and the older sibling or cross-cousin are very largely responsible for whatever is given and after that the father becomes responsible for the boys while the mother continues with the girls. This arrangement is modified somewhat by

[1] *Omõlã* is the term generally used but its primary meaning is *son* or *daughter*.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

the father's taking children of either sex with him on trips and by their being sent to stay for periods with the mother's family (*ohuisa*).

During this early period the child's education is comprised largely under three heads: (1) psychological, chiefly fear of real and imaginary dangers; (2) social, chiefly usages of etiquette and acquaintance with the kinship structure and its requirements; and (3) practical, or the beginning of skills. The first is imparted by mother, elder siblings, and perhaps by a grandmother. The second is taught both consciously and unconsciously by every older relative with whom the child comes into contact. The third is undertaken by elder siblings or cousins of the same sex. After illustrating the process of each of these three, I shall try to summarize the Umbundu theory of personality and then pass on to the activities of later childhood.

1. *Psychological.* 'Children have no fear of ghosts unless there is someone who has told them of ghosts, or tried to imitate their cries or to make them see one. If after dark a child teases and cries, his mother may say, If you cry like that a ghost (*ocilũlũ*) will come and eat you. Since it is dark the child is startled, thinking there are ghosts, and he becomes quiet. Sometimes she tells him, Look out for the oxen, *mu, mu*, or perhaps it will be a leopard. Since the child does not see it, he may disbelieve his mother and think that what she says is untrue. Then again she may name a person, but since the child knows what a person is, but sees none, he will not stop (crying). Often if a child does not go to sleep quickly, his mother may say, Look out, the little old woman will come and pour live coals on your head and you will burn up. Hurry up and go to sleep. Then the child may leave the fireplace in a hurry and fall right into bed trembling. Sometimes a mother may send an elder sibling outside to the threshing-floor, to cry like a hyena, *i . . . . i . . . . i*, while she herself stays in to mock the child, saying, He is crying and coming to eat you up. In the house the child hears the noise and shrieks, Don't come, don't come, I shan't cry any more, I'm going to sleep. It is from such things as these that children's fears come, from long ago until to-day. Children hear these things in their own houses from their parents, from their cross-cousins (*apahume*), from their elder siblings, or from their grandmothers. These same children, however, when they become adults, again begin to emphasize belief in ghosts with their little

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

offered.[1] Boys may also help with younger siblings and fetch wood and water especially if there is no girl in the family, but it is my impression that at this age boys find much more time for play than do girls.

The girl of this age has already been performing useful tasks for several years in helping to care for the younger siblings or younger cousins, but the eagerness with which a girl takes up the care of a younger child makes it evident that she considers that activity rather in the nature of play. If there is no baby for whom she is expected to be responsible, she may borrow one from a neighbour. It seems almost more natural for her to carry a baby than to carry a doll (made of an ear of maize). This she will do only if she lacks a baby. Field-work and housework, chiefly the cultivation and preparation of food, are the adult activities which she must learn and which she regards as work.

The Ovimbundu consider that a child's socio-psychological education should be completed during early childhood. It is felt that after this time direct instruction should not be necessary, but reproof may be given should a child omit a usage or commit a fault. Should a child have plainly failed to attain the customary standards, a fatalistic attitude is often assumed as illustrated by this proverb:

Omõlã wa linga Cipupulungunju;
The child has become a worthless thing.
Nda longele, Nda kava.
I have done with educating, I am tired.

Acquiring skills. Later childhood is the time *par excellence* for technical education. That is the time recognized for beginning to learn a profession (*ocipinduko*), and a boy is expected to try that in which either his father or his mother's brother is expert. After that, should he wish to learn some other profession and can find a master, he may apprentice himself. All children, both boys and girls, are expected to learn to cultivate, but that is not counted as a profession as the following clearly shows:

'As to cultivating (*oku lima*), formerly the purpose was only for food, that one may not be hungry, whether during the dry season (*okuenye*), or during the rains (*ondombo*), that a person and his

[1] Considering the type of formal education available, the Ovimbundu are probably right: young children need far more activity than the formal school offers or allows.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

463 *Wood-working*, including the following specializations:
462 Doors, windows, and their frames; coffins.
[322] Beds, tables, chairs, &c.
Mortars, pestles, grinding-handles, and handles for various iron implements.
Stools, household utensils, carved images, staves, knobkerries, &c.
Drums and other musical instruments.
Canoes (dug-outs and coracles).
Rope-making, nets, and rudimentary weaving.
Thatching has its specialists although all men can thatch.
Fishing.
Bee-hunting, including the making of hives.
224 *Hunting*.
326 *Iron-smelting and smithing*.
791 *Medical-practice and Divination*.

The last three professions of the list are sacred and are entered under special conditions. They are often passed on by inheritance, but not always. All of them require sacrifice at certain stages, and when the enslavement of a spirit (*oku andeka*) is required, it is socially allowable. This seems to be the case with these offices as with those of the king and his ministers, both because of benefits accruing to the community in their exercise and also because of inherent danger to the individuals who exercise these functions.

177 The advent of European commerce, industry, and government
463 has created a number of types of employment for boys and young men, some of which entail prolonged absence from the village and a loosening or severing of kinship ties. Church and mission have
[797] also offered employment and have opened new opportunities for advance in place and in position.

861 Later childhood, then, is the period of technical training during which it is expected that a large amount of economic responsibility will be assumed. A child begins to own property even before this, and from the beginning of later childhood will be accounted legally responsible for his actions. It is recognized, however, that he should not be set tasks beyond the experience or ability of his age and that the full responsibility of adulthood will only come with marriage.

[538] *Umālēhē ka tonyōlā ongulu yuvala*;
A youth does not scrape the pig for the wedding feast;
pehonjo pa siala (*ovonya*).
on the hoof there remain (bristles).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

giving the baby the respectful terms of 'my wife' or 'my husband';[1] also in the comment of the narrator that 'parents recognize that it is proper to respect them (children)'[2] and in parents' reluctance to punish. It seems that this respectful treatment of children stems from belief in reincarnation, whereby a child is potentially an ancestor to be respected, deferred to, and even worshipped.

It is doubtful whether at present many children could be found who have really gone through the ceremonial for becoming media for guardian spirits of the family (*olosande*). The drift away from those observances has become a flood. Nevertheless respectful treatment of children remains, perhaps even undiminished, for it still has the force of customary behaviour if not the supernatural sanction. Indulgence on the part of the parents rarely if ever goes to the length of pampering. Belief that the child's character ultimately, or to a large extent, depends upon spiritual forces may lead parents to adopt a sort of fatalism, but that is hardly more serious than the effects of belief in the influence of heredity popularly held in the West. The Ovimbundu do not believe, as do the Zulus, for example, that a child is tainted at birth, needing radical treatment against the subsequent appearance of the taint.[3] With the Ovimbundu the development of personality is a process which *may* involve spiritual forces, but at all events requires careful human attention.

Education and Society

What then are the means by which the Ovimbundu develop the personalities of their children or mould them to the social norm? Their success indicates that they along with other 'so-called backward races have proved to be educationists . . . of no mean order'.[4] What, then, are their methods?

The educational process is the whole process of life and culture. School is society and society is school; there is no division between adult and child life. Education and life are one. This has been recognized as true for many African and other primitive societies.[5]

[1] *Supra*, p. 89.
[2] *Supra*, p. 104.
[3] See Krige, op. cit., p. 67.
[4] W. D. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p. 401.
[5] See the interesting analysis of M. Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*, p. 8 f. (Supplement to *Africa*, Oct. 1938); Margaret

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

This unity of 'the social sphere of adult and child' is a striking feature of the Umbundu educational process. A child learns by actual participation in adult activities. He participates as soon as he is able and in so far as he is able in all phases of adult life. A child begins early to assume responsibility both for himself and for as much regular 'adult activity' as his knowledge and ability may allow him to take on. This being the case, it is to be expected that all factors—physiological, psychological, social, and cultural—are so closely interrelated in the process of Umbundu education that their unity is almost organic.

Given this unitary social sphere, it is easy to understand that children always want to grow up. They are anxious to undertake full responsibility and full participation as early as they may. It has been pointed out that adults do not, or are expected not to, force the pace: they must not set tasks beyond the ability of the children in the actual stage of their development.[1] Normal development and normal behaviour are expected of children as a matter of course.[2] The possibility of aberrant behaviour[3] does not seem regularly to enter parents' minds, much less their utterances, as is too often the case with us. Adult expectation of normal development in children is perhaps best seen in the Umbundu concept of sense or intelligence (*olondunge*), something which every normal person is expected to have in some measure from the time of weaning. It is a relative term when applied to children and the young.[4] Some adults have it in greater measure than others. But every *person* will have it according to the proverb:

> *Omuku lovonya, omunu lolondunge.*
> A rat with fur, a person with sense.

As every rat has fur, every person has sense.

Learning, as he does, in the real social and cultural situation of Umbundu life, the child develops genetically the behaviour

Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: Morrow, 1928). Some writers have claimed this to be true of all the simpler cultures, e.g. Dewey, op. cit., p. 8 f., but cf. Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea* (New York: Morrow, 1930). Many of the African initiation rites seem to have been introduced from the outside and hence involve a distinct dichotomy, *vide* Stayt, op. cit.

[1] See *supra*, p. 110.

[2] See Fortes' discussion of a similar attitude among the Tallensi, op. cit., pp. 25–8.

[3] For the fatalistic attitude taken on failure to conform, see *supra*, p. 106.

[4] See *supra*, p. 100.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

pattern 'singled out in the institutions of his culture'.[1] I agree with Fortes on the Tallensi that 'The total pattern is not built up brick by brick like a house, but evolves'.[2] I am not convinced, however, of the necessity for postulating 'embryonic forms' or *schemas* of the total patterns supposed to be present in the child from the beginning.[3] Whether the *schemas* are supposed to be a part of the child's innate equipment, Fortes does not make clear, but I see no necessity for any such hypothesis. The method by which and the situation in which the Ocimbundu child learns, are ample explanation for the early and thorough development of the pattern of his culture.

Neither is it necessary to postulate either 'faculties' or 'instinctive drives' to explain Umbundu education.[4] Rather this study takes a view of 'human nature . . . as consisting essentially of specific situations'.[5] Instances in support of this view could be cited from the descriptive part of this chapter but that would be outside the scope of this study. The most important fact with regard to Umbundu education is its identification with life: the absence of cleavage as between 'school' and society, as between the social sphere of the child and the adult. The most important educational method in use is actual participation in the social and cultural or 'real life' situation. The educational 'content' is the whole Umbundu culture, consisting of attitudes (psychological and social), social usages, skills, observances, and traditional 'literature'. By far the most important are the social attitudes and usages. I turn therefore to the problems of

Social Adjustment

The education of the Ocimbundu child in the traditional social setting is far more social than is the case with us. The child learns

[1] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), p. 254.

[2] M. Fortes, op. cit., p. 42.

[3] Ibid., pp. 42 ff. Fortes attributes the concept of *schemas* to F. C. Bartlett (*Remembering*).

[4] In his discussion of education among the Tallensi, quoted above, Fortes does not specifically mention either of these hypotheses and he rightly remarks that some writers have 'attributed an almost mystical significance to imitation' as the principal method by which a child learns. He then proceeds, however, to classify the learning processes under *Mimesis*, *Identification*, *Co-operation*, and *Play*. Except for the first, these activities are of much importance in Umbundu education.

[5] Hugh Hartshorne, *Character in Human Relations*, p. 195 (New York: Scribner's, 1932); see also Allport, op. cit., p. 81.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

p139

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL EVALUATIONS

121 THE conception of African education underlying the present study is frankly one of adaptation of all that is suitable from indigenous culture in order to weave it into the fabric of a new African civilization. This point of view, stated in the Preface and already elaborated with reference to the social structure in Part One, needs no detailed re-statement here.

661 Umbundu education, as described and analysed in the foregoing chapters, obviously has points of contact with a progressive conception of Christian education. If nothing else, at least the degree of success which it achieves should cause us to search out its secret. It is probable that there is no formal system of education which could show as great a percentage of success as can this primitive system. In terms of artistic or scientific achievement or discovery its results may not bulk very large, but in terms of successful adaptation to environment they are remarkable.[1] In terms of personal and social integration achieved the results are yet greater.[2] The success achieved by Umbundu education requires the attention of the educationist seeking to serve this people.

000 Among those elements of Umbundu education which may be built upon by missionary education, I wish to consider three: (1) The Umbundu conception of character, (2) Educational method as actual participation in real life situations, and (3) Educational 'content' as life itself—all of life.

Character

The significance of what the Ovimbundu estimate to be desirable character is evident, and no one would dispute the importance of perpetuating and generalizing the more desirable types of behaviour analysed. Only by grafting into these behaviour patterns, which the Ovimbundu recognize and understand, can

[1] This subject cannot be given adequate treatment in a chapter on education. Cf. J. H. Driberg, *The Savage as He Really Is* (London: Routledge, 1929), chaps. ii, iii.

[2] As with many primitive peoples, delinquents and misfits are relatively rare. In Umbundu society allowance for dissent is usually large.

862 "The practice of leaving the *ocisemba* in the village by day makes his elder sibling[1] responsible for much of his education....She herself may not be more than six or seven years old and consequently cannot be expected to 'educate' her charge very thoroughly. She interests herself in his walking and talking and he will initate her in many things."[2]

863 General instruction in cleanliness begins at this age, although sphincter control may have begun much earlier, since the mother feels every movement made by the baby on her back.

145 After weaning the physical development of the child proceeds more slowly than that of European peoples, and Childs believes that this may be due to deficiencies in diet.[3]

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

857 From the time a child is able to walk until he is about nine years
861 old he continues seeing the same people as before, but he becomes less dependent upon the elder sister or cousin who helped him, and begins his life-long association with his age-mates. The sex-division of society starts for him at this stage: from about eight years boys begin to eat in the *onjango* with their fathers, girls continuing in the kitchen with their mothers. After about eight years the father becomes largely responsible for the education of boys, the mother for that of girls.[4] During this period the child's education may be summarised under three heads:

869 (a) *Psychological*, chiefly fear of real or imaginary dangers. This is imparted by mother, elder siblings, and perhaps by a grandmother; there is a tendency for the teaching of fear to be done by women.[4]

867 (b) *Social*, chiefly usages of etiquette and acquaintance with the kinship structure and its requirements. A child of about eight is supposed to know his social status and all the etiquette that pertains to it. In the *onjango* the hierarchy of age is observed, honoured guests and old men being served first, and so on all down the line. With the decline of the *onjango*, there has been a great decline in the teaching of etiquette and social usage, and this naturally affects boys rather than girls.

864 Little direct sex teaching is attempted, and adults are reticent in speaking of sexual matters in the presence of children. But since children live with their parents in one-roomed houses, it is inevitable that children should sometimes observe intercourse.

868 (c) *Training in skills*: Children are taught few definite skills before the age of eight or nine, but many of their games are in imitation of adult activities.

604 From the age of six or seven years children are usually sent to spend
857 one or two years with the mother's brother. They may also be sent to the father's sister or brother for a period, and, in the case of girls, to the mother's mother. Formerly prominent families sent their children for a

(1) Either a brother or sister may act as nurse.
(2) Childs, *op.cit.*, p.95. (3) *Ibid.*, p.97.
(4) Childs actually writes "'the side of the basket'" (p.100), but seems to be referring simply to female relatives.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Men are exclusively the makers of 462
musical instruments, and males are the musicians. Men are the [534
only persons engaged in warfare and administration, and the *onjango* or council house is used exclusively by males. Men follow the [756]
occupation of medicine-man, in which there is considerable specialization. Female practitioners deal with pregnancy and women's ailments. In addition to the tasks for women mentioned above, the following are staple occupations: collecting firewood, drawing water, caring for infants, making pottery, weaving baskets, dancing, and singing. Young girls share these activities with older women.

The foregoing categories explain division on the grounds of sex. 463
Degrees of specialization are not so easy to formulate, but in general a man follows some one occupation, for example wood-carving. Then within this occupation there is specialization in the making of drums, domestic utensils, or figurines.

Almost any woman could make pottery or baskets, but the difference in skill leads naturally to concentration in the hands of expert potters and basket-weavers respectively. These sell their [432]
wares to those who either do not make such articles or are inept at the process.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT, MANNERS, AND SALUTATIONS

The parents of a child, also his maternal uncle, assume respon- 861
sibility for training in the precepts and standards given here. The 867
maternal uncle, who is the mother's oldest brother, is particularly interested because he has to pay fines should his sister's children commit thefts. The evidence indicates that the home and restricted family have formative influences over the conduct of children.

Children are beaten if they tell lies, answer old people rudely, or steal food. Ngonga says that his "stealing hand" was once placed in the hot leaves of the cooking pot. If a child steals an egg which is cooking, the hot egg is held between the culprit's hands.

One cannot fail to notice the quiet and unobtrusive way in which children sit in the presence of their elders both in the home and in [858]
the council house. Children do not speak when their elders are in conversation, unless addressed.

A child, likewise an adult, receives a gift with both hands. The [576]
implied idea is that reception with one hand is a depreciation of the gift. If a child holds out one hand, the hand is slapped. When receiving, an Ocimbundu says "*kuku*," literally grandfather or elder. Colloquially the word is used to mean greeting, "I thank you," or "I beg your pardon."